

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951

	<u>Births</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
Total	146	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

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In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	<u>Births</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

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What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167

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The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161

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Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates

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Mother of head, age 48
 Grandfather of head, age 65
 Younger brother, age 25
 Younger brother, age 16
 Younger sister, age 9
 Younger sister, age 11
 Younger brother's wife, age 25
 Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Minatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him.

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will

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have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

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Old residents⁵ of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

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Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.⁶ Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

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The division of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be particularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

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The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

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The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

5 I am indebted here to Shinsato Zensuke of the village of Sokel (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

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Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

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The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

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Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

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The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

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The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosu village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted.

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Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of these being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck.

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Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery.

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After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiben, iya in Japanese).

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In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality.

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According to a Ginosu midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early

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bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which 571
are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no
way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned
with these latter groups whose membership is determined by
sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male
lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a
large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case
for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may
leave the village to seek their fortune.

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, 596
who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who 594
establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the
house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central [166]
village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part
of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or [167]
to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South
America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities
around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest
son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over
the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the
household until they marry or leave the parental home for work else-
where.

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is 591
an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In 582
the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the
preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowa-
days there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may
become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of
the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the
north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira,
29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent.

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the in- 592
dividual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in 593
the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least
one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live
under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents
and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space
is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-
to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are [165]•
many more old women living with their married sons than old men.
This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home
than a grandfather (see Table 1).

more men than women were killed. The second reason is the fact that in Okinawa, as in most of the rest of the world, women tend to live longer than men.¹

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The prewar sex ratio was somewhat lower, but this condition was primarily caused by the absence of so many men in the military forces and in Japanese industry. The Navy handbook² states the following:

The sex ratio for the archipelago in 1940 was 112 women to 100 men. In Japan Proper in 1939 the comparable ratio was 101 men to 100 women....The two most heavily populated islands---Okinawa and Amami---had sex ratios of 115 and 117 women to 100 men, respectively.

Using the standard demographic definition of sex ratio, this would indicate a sex ratio of 89.2 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and ratios of 87 and 85.5 for Okinawa and Amami in that order.

Although the population section of this report will deal in great part with the analysis of population in one rural 'son', it is of value to examine first the more general picture, so that the detailed facts may be seen in relation to their setting. The number of people in the average household, with masculine-feminine breakdown, and the sex ratio are the most important items for general analysis. The data for several areas, valid as of 31 December 1952, are shown below:³

Table I

Political Area	Average Number of Men per Household	Average Number of Women per Household	Average Number of Persons per Household	Sex Ratio
<u>Ryukyus (excluding reverted Amami Oshima)</u>	2.37	2.59	4.96	91.5
<u>Okinawa Guntō</u>	2.27	2.51	4.78	90.5
<u>Naha</u>	2.10	2.30	4.41	92.7
<u>Mavashi</u>	2.46	2.39	4.85	103.0
<u>Naha-Mavashi</u>	2.28	2.34	4.62	93.8
<u>Kochinda-son</u>	2.07	2.24	4.31	92.5

Although there is not much difference in the sex ratio of Okinawa and the Ryukyus as a whole, it appears that there are more persons, both men and women, per household in the southern islands than in Okinawa. Again

¹ T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, McGraw-Hill, NY, 1948. Tables pp. 252-4.

² Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, OPNAV 13-31, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 15 November 1944, xiv-334 pp. Statement, page 51.

³ Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku (Monthly Statistics of the Ryukyu Islands) Vol. 3, no. 3, 1953, passim.